

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 37.---No. 5.] LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 19, 1820. [Price, 6d.

TO THE
MIDDLE CLASS OF PEOPLE,
(Who are enemies of Reform),

ON
*The Letter, and on the Trial,
of her Majesty the Queen.*

London, 17th August, 1820.

COUNTRYMEN

I addressed a letter to you, in August last, from the shores of America. I then told you, that your ruin was at hand. I described to you the causes that were leading to it, and endeavoured to impress on your minds the necessity of exerting yourselves for the purpose of avoiding that ruin. He must be blind, indeed, who does not now see, that I was correct in my calculations. But reserving myself to say more, by and by, upon this subject, suffer me now to address to you a few remarks on the *Letter* of her Majesty to the

King, and also on the *Trial* which is this day to begin, and which will make the 17th of August a day memorable in the annals of England.

With respect to the *facts* of the *Letter* of her Majesty, or, with respect to the *language* of it, I shall say nothing; or, rather, I shall offer *no opinion*. I am not living in what I deem a state of freedom; and, as I *dare not* say that I approve of the contents of the *Letter*, so I *will not* say that I disapprove of them. I publish the *Letter* itself, because all other periodical publications contain it. Let me observe, however, how great are her Majesty's disadvantages in this contest, as far as the press is concerned. No man *dares*, on pain of his destruction, to *ap- plaud* this *Letter*, while any man may safely *condemn* it,

Printed and Published by W. Benbow, 260, Strand.

call it false, and abuse the illustrious writer. Any man may safely *praise* the Bill of Pains and Penalties, which accuses the Queen of the foulest crimes before trial; but no man dares praise the Queen's Letter, put forth in the way of complaint and remonstrance. Any man may say, and many, in print, do say, that the Queen is a *bad woman*; but no man dares to say, in print, that the person in whose behalf she is prosecuted, is a *bad man*. For my part, I do not desire to say it; but, surely, the Queen herself must be allowed to have a right to make her complaints and remonstrances in her own language.

No serious attempt has been made to *answer* this Letter. Much has been promised in this way, but nothing has been performed! One pert pretender sets out by observing, that he shall pass over all that refers to what took place *previous to the separation of their Majesties*.

That is to say, he will pass over the very *foundation* of the Queen's complaint; and of all the mischief that has followed and proceeded from the separation! This, however, is what the nation will *not pass over*. It is, in order to come at a fair view of the subject, absolutely necessary to go back, not only to the causes of the *separation*, but to the *inducements to the marriage*. The Queen, it is pretended, is to be prosecuted and dishonoured for the sake of the *State*: that is, I suppose, for the sake of the *nation*. Now, the nation paid about 700,000*l.* in consequence of the marriage; and, surely, the nation has a right to know, since things have come to their present pass, *who* it was that was the *cause of the separation*.

In short, no *answer* has been attempted. Plenty of *abuse* has been heaped on it; but to abuse is not to answer. However, that I may not be accused of partiality, I shall insert, directly

after the Queen's Letter, two or three of the articles that have been re-published against her Majesty in consequence of it. In these it is asserted, in one place, that a *Queen* cannot be tried by the ordinary courts and juries; but, in another place, it is asserted, that she is a *subject* and can be tried, *like another subject*, for the "*treason*," committed in writing this Letter! So that, she is, according to these men, to have all the disadvantages and none of the benefits of the law.

I beg you to look well at the nature of the prosecution. A *Bill* is, when passed, an *Act of Parliament*; and this act, if passed, is an act made *after* the commission of the alleged offence. It is, therefore, what is called an *ex post facto law*; and the Bill of Rights says, that "no *ex post facto law*" shall be passed. An *ex post facto law* is one, that makes a thing a *crime*, which was *not a crime before*, and *punishes it*. For instance,

I laugh upon seeing Castlereagh in a fright. This is no crime at the time when I laugh; but an act may be passed to-morrow making it a crime in me to have so laughed to-day, and punishing me for such laughing. This would be an *ex post-facto law*; and the laws of England say, that no such law shall be passed.

Now, either the Queen has committed something, which the law makes a *crime*; or she has not. If she have, where is the law? Why not find out the law? Why not try her by *that law*? If she have not committed any thing, which the law makes a *crime*; then this Bill, if passed, must be an *ex-post facto law*; it must *make the crime* as well as award the punishment.

The Bill says, in its preamble, that her Majesty has been guilty of highly honouring with marks of distinction a man, who was a *menial servant*. This is no *crime*. It says, that the Queen has led a *licentious life*. This is no *crime* known to the laws:

if it were, Lord have mercy upon a great many men, whose duty it is to set a good example. It says, that the Queen has carried on an *adulterous intercourse*. Even this, in such vague words, is *no crime known to the laws*. And, therefore, if the Bill become a law, without alteration, it must be an *ex-post facto law*.

Adultery is, indeed, a crime known to the laws; and it is punished by *divorce*; that is to say, in the case of a wife, by taking from her her rights as a wife. But, then, there must be a *trial according to law*; and, upon this trial, the wife may produce evidence to show, that the husband was the *first breaker of the marriage vow*; and, if she show this, the verdict will be against the husband, who cannot, in such case, obtain a divorce. Would it not be monstrous if he could? Would it not be unjust beyond expression? Upon such conditions what woman, not absolutely mad, would ever marry?

Yet this mode of proceeding by Bill will shut the Queen out from the possibility of the sort of defence, to which she would be entitled in the courts of justice. She will be allowed to

produce nothing to show the acts of her husband. Nay, it will not be necessary for her accusers to prove even the *adultery* on her part; for, the Bill proposes to punish her, not for the *act of adultery*; but, for an *adulterous intercourse*; which may mean something *short of adultery*. To look at a man, and to *wish* to be more closely connected with him, may be called an *adulterous intercourse*. To live upon intimate terms with persons guilty of adultery may be called an adulterous intercourse. In short, any circumstance, however trifling, may be twisted into acts worthy of this appellation. And, therefore, according to this Bill, the Queen may be divorced and degraded *without any act of adultery being proved against her*.

Such is the nature of the proceeding against the Queen. As to the nature of the *evidence*; as to the *constitution of the court*; as to the refusing of the names of witnesses and even of times and places; as to all these, the public are already well informed. I shall now give some account of certain preparations that have been made for the trial; for, I wish

that all you who live at a distance from London, should be correctly informed of these things; and it is right that we should have some *record* of them; in order that we may know hereafter what sort of judgment to form of those who now unhappily conduct the nation's affairs, and who have brought the King, the Queen, the people and themselves into the present situation. I, for my own part, have for many years been endeavouring to warn the nation of the consequences of the present system. If the things which we now behold be calculated to alarm, the fault is not mine; for, I have plainly foretold that such things would take place unless the system were abandoned. That the system has been upheld has been owing to the apathy of the middle classes of the community, who have, in fact, done nothing to change the system, but who have, on the contrary, been actively instrumental, in many cases, in spitefully treating, and in destroying those who have laboured so arduously for the preventing of these evils. To you of the middle classes, therefore, I address myself upon this occasion; and, if you read

what I say of yourselves with disapprobation, your disapprobation will give me no pain. My feelings of compassion are confined to those who have suffered from this system, in consequence of their endeavours to change it; and it is their approbation and not your approbation that I seek.

Look then, if you have any thing worthy of the name of public spirit left about you; look at the scenes which now present themselves before us. Shameful they are; but they reflect no shame upon me, nor upon any of those men, who have laboured with so much zeal and disinterestedness to prevent the like of them, and many of whom have suffered so severely for those labours. Many of you of the middling classes, Merchants, Master-manufacturers, Tradesmen, and above all, Farmers; many of you, and indeed the far greater part of you, have been the revilers of those, whose labours would have preserved you from the terrors of the approaching crisis: let those terrors be the reward of the revilings; and let a plain narrative of facts; let a simple record of what the system has now caused

to be done, be in the eyes of posterity, the justification of those men whom you have ungratefully treated with revilings.

The Queen is on her trial. Remember that it is not those, who you have reviled under the appellation of Jacobins and Radicals; remember that it is not we, who produced the separation of her Majesty from her Husband, at the time when the Wife had an infant child in her arms; that it is not we who set on foot the tribunal to inquire into her conduct in 1806; that it is not we who discovered that the tribunal which was competent to administer oaths and to hear witnesses upon oath; to form the evidence into affidavits, and make it a ground of action, was incompetent to make false swearing before it subject the false swearers to the penalties of perjury; that it was not we who forbade the mother to have free communication with the child; that it was not we who advised the forbidding of the Mother to appear at court, even after she had been acquitted of all crime, and after the late King had for a series of years received her at his court and visited her himself; that it

was not we who advised her to leave the country, because her fascinating manners were calculated to make her popular; that it was not we who, having given her that advice, advised the instituting of the Milan Commission, and the ill-treatment of her, the insulting of her by every Court upon the Continent; that it was not we who advised the expunging of her name from the Liturgy, the tender of money and the threat at St. Omers; that it was not we who sent down the Green Bags against her; that it was not we who offered her fifty thousand pounds a year with acknowledgment as Queen at a Foreign Court, and a Golden Yacht to sail in, together with impunity for all the alleged offences that she had committed, if she would but quit England; that it was not we who induced the House of Commons to declare to her, that a trial, *let the result of it be what it might*, must be derogatory from the dignity of the Crown, and injurious to the best interests of the country, and who, with this declaration on the Journals of the House of Commons, resolved upon the prosecution of that very trial; that it was not we who advised

a secret committee to examine the Green Bags, and who, upon the report of that Committee, brought in a Bill to punish the Queen by an Act of Parliament, which proceeding makes the accusers to be amongst the jurors and judges: remember, I say; know it now, remember it always, and be it never forgotten, that we the calumniated, the persecuted, the oppressed, the cruelly suffering advocates for a Reform in the House of Commons, have never had the smallest share in any of these things. Remember that, as far as we have been able we have opposed them all; and therefore remember that, if the things I am now about to record are calculated to reflect disgrace, no part of the disgrace belongs to us, but that a very considerable portion of it belongs to you, who either from apathy or from an activity hostile to us, inspired by greediness or by selfish fear, have assisted in upholding and in giving force to the arm of those by whom the system has been carried on.

Westminster Hall, the Houses of Parliament, the seats of justice; those places which were formerly venerated, together with every thing that apper-

tained unto them. What do we now behold on this spot?—To such of you as have never been at Westminster it may be necessary to describe things rather minutely. That mass of buildings, Westminster Hall, the Courts of Justice, the Houses of Parliament, and several other offices of importance form one block. They are all under what may be called one roof, seeing that they are one building with roofs adjoining very nearly to each other. The entrances to these different compartments are numerous. On three sides of this immense mass of buildings there is an open space; on one side New Palace Yard, on the other side Old Palace Yard; on another side a sort of square inclosed with iron pallsades, and planted with trees; and on the other, which is the eastern side, is the river Thames. Between the buildings and the Thames is an open space, partly garden and partly yard. This space is about seventy yards from the buildings to the water, at the edge of which, the ground which forms the garden and the yard is preserved from the washings of the water by a wall about twenty feet high. This open spot is inaccessible

on the land side, except over a very high wall in one part, and over the tops of the buildings in the other parts. This spot has recently had numerous temporary buildings erected on it for the purpose of cooking for the Coronation Banquet. These temporary buildings are very extensive, forming altogether a group sufficient to cut a figure if spread out into a village.

Into this place have been brought in such a manner as not to be seen, except by the conductors and other official agents, those famous Italian witnesses, the proceeds of the Milan Commission. The Coronation buildings have been appropriated to the lodging, the feeding and the dressing and preparing of these witnesses. And, now, my good, "loyal" countrymen, I beg you to remember that if the cooking apartment, made for the purpose of furnishing forth a Banquet for the Royal Husband [has been converted into a place for getting messes for the witnesses against his wife; I beg you to remember that, if this thing has been done, it has been done not only without the instrumentality, but against the wishes of those whom you have been so busy in assisting to op-

press, or, at least, in whose protection, you have never stirred hand or tongue. Remember, that, if this odious sight is now exhibited to the world, it is the work of those whom you have actively supported and encouraged.

This chosen spot, from which there is a subterraneous passage into the buildings connected with the House of Lords, is defended on the land side by troops of various descriptions; foot soldiers; horse soldiers; horse police; foot police; and by innumerable police officers and constables. Every avenue, every door-way, every window, which can possibly be approached from without, is guarded.—This immense fortress has out-works of timber. Posts and beams of immense size are placed across the streets. If the approach of an army were expected, it would be impossible to make preparations of defence more formidable without actually tearing up the ground and making ramparts.

At the distance of about four hundred yards are stationed numerous horsemen in a place called the Horse Guards. At the distance of about six hundred yards to the north of the Parlia-

ment House is a closed-in barrack, called the mews, filled with foot soldiers. At about five hundred yards to the west of the House is a barrack filled with foot soldiers; at about four hundred yards to the west there is a regiment of dragoons. At a mile from the House to the north-west is the horse-barrack of Knightsbridge; at about two miles from the House to the north is the horse-barrack in Portman-street. The newspapers give an account of regiments marched up in every direction into the vicinity of London;—and we see a corps of yeomanry actually parading the streets with their swords drawn on the eastern direction from Westminster bridge, which crosses the Thames, at about three hundred yards from the House.

Such is the state of things on the *land* side; but, as you have seen, the chosen spot before mentioned is open to the water, except that there is a wall of about twenty feet to scale. In the Thames, just opposite the coronation village before described, is placed a vessel, which has a deck above the gun-deck, and which carries, to all appearance, from *sixteen to twenty guns!* On the

skirts, or flanks, of this well defended spot there are two houses, dwellings of great Officers of the Parliament. These have been evacuated by the tenants; or, at least, they have been filled with bedsteads and bedding sufficient for a great number of persons. *What persons those are we are not informed.* We could guess; but as guessing might be a little too much, you, as you are such wise people, and have so *prudently* kept aloof from, or assisted to oppress, the Radicals, the Radicals may leave you to guess for yourselves.

All the preparations being made, the trial, or rather the preliminary steps towards it, have begun this memorable day; a day which you will have good cause to remember to the last moment of your lives.

To describe the multitudes accompanying the Queen to and from the House is what I shall not attempt. Never were such multitudes seen before upon any occasion. Never was feeling so intense. Hundreds of women were seen crying in the streets; and, let it be recorded and remembered, that these tears came from those who have been

despitefully and insolently termed the "*lower orders*."

During the whole of the day military scouts were galloping to and from the several barracks, depots of troops, regiments, parks and depots of artillery, within ten or fifteen miles of London. As near as I can judge there is no interval of more than a mile or two upon a circle, the circumference of which is from sixty to a hundred miles, without troops of some sort or other.

Such is but a very faint picture, after all, of our present situation. Look at the picture. Consider the immense sums of money that you will have to pay for these gigantic preparations; for the Milan Commission and all its appendages; and for all the manifold outgoings on account of this prosecution. I know well that you feel no disgrace. But I know that you do feel in your pockets; and that you also feel on account of the dangers to which you may be exposed. Remember then, I say, once more, that this cost and danger would never have come upon you, had you not tacitly or actively done your best to prevent that reform of the House of Commons, which would have

effectually prevented, that which you will now have to deplore.

The proceedings in the House of Lords of this day have been merely preliminary. The Duke of Leinster proposed to set the thing aside altogether. This was rejected with an overwhelming majority. Some other motions were made; and during the day, Mr. Brougham made a speech against the principle of the Bill, which speech will be read with universal approbation. Whether the proceedings will be stifled by the preventing of a publication of an account of them, is more than I can say. I have already had my share of suffering on account of my hostility to the system; and if I suffer again, it shall not be in the name of the *law*, at any rate: it shall be from some act or other that shall give you no room to snigger and to hug yourselves in the security which you are deriving from my efforts, while you have the base ingratitude to applaud the pains and penalties inflicted upon me.— You have pursued the *prudent* course, as you have always said: you have made the system your own by the tacit or active support that you have given it. Castlereagh, Sidmouth, and Li-

verpool are yours; enjoy them and their works. You have had your day of selfish comfort: take the days that are now coming.

I, for my own part, see no ground of anxiety for those, who have been for so many years objects of your sneers and your calumnies. But, this may be a fit time for them to remind you of the folly as well as the injustice of your conduct. You have all along been crying out against the danger of reform; against the troubles it would give rise to; against the confusion that it would make. Is there no danger now? Are there now no troubles, and is there now no confusion? You have upheld the glorious system; but have you secured harmony, peace, and safety? One thing above all others ought never to be forgotten: you applauded Sidmouth who applauded the Magistrates and Yeomanry of Manchester. Your applause was cited by the prime Minister as a proof of the propriety of the Manchester killing and wounding. Well, then, take without contorsion of countenance any thing further that has to be performed.

When men of talent of the purest public spirit, of the most ardent devotion to their coun-

try, were endeavouring to persuade you to join in lawful efforts to obtain that reform which would long ago put an end to ruin and starvation, you unfeelingly curled up your lip, and accused them of designs upon your property. When such men endeavoured to represent to you how dangerous it was to place your sole reliance upon mere force, you turned from them with a jeering look, saying in your hearts, that that force would always be for you. Events produce a correction of error sometimes; but I am quite satisfied that your errors are to be corrected by nothing which will not compel you to feel. You have quietly and even complaisantly seen your countrymen sent off to jail, or conveyed to the gallows under military escorts. You have nothing to find fault of: you have nobody to blame. Whatever you may suffer you are the cause of your own sufferings. Had you acted your part well, we should long ago have had a reform of the House of Commons; and then, we should all have been safe; King, Queen, Lords and people. But you could not indure the thought of suffering the labourer and artizan, those

whose labour and ingenuity yield you all your comforts and riches, and whose arms protect you in the possession of them; you could not indure the idea of suffering these to participate with you in the enjoyment of political rights. You preferred being slaves to others; you cared not for this, so long as it gave you the power of domineering over another class. This was the feeling by which you were actuated. Has your policy been crowned with success? Oh! no; but the result of your selfish conduct is, and will be precisely what is merited by that conduct.

The stupid and selfish crew that huzzaed the frothy Canning at Liverpool, while he was calumniating the Reformers, and making jests of what he supposed to be their everlasting defeat, would now be taught, if any thing could teach them, to repent of their baseness. They have seen, in the course of five short months, all the predictions of their prophet blown into air. They have seen that that very system which he applauded to the skies, and which they, even to the very tearing of their throats, cheered him for applauding; they have seen that very system

work along till it has produced events already, which have filled their hearts with fear, which have made their coward knees knock together; which have caused their pillows to be haunted with visions, at the sight of which a Radical may smile. And, what would put them to shame, if any thing could put such men to shame; they have seen their hero take flight upon the first appearance of danger.

He is gone to the Continent; but to what part of it no man can tell! He is the very first to decamp; he, who called upon his sturdy hearers to "*take their side*," and to fight to the last breath in defence of what he called their Constitution. He is gone! The hero of Liverpool is gone. Thank God for that, at any rate. We shall hear no more of his jesting on the bursting bowels of the Reformers. He will never again set the house in a roar by making a great bodily affliction the subject of a despicable jest. He would not be the *accuser* of the Queen, he said, *so help him God*. At the time when he made this declaration, accompanied with an eulogium on her Majesty, who did not suppose that he meant to *quit the cabi-*

net, and to do his best in her Majesty's defence? With this understanding, I regarded his conduct as "*manly*;" but did I imagine that he had given his assent to the withholding of her name from the Liturgy, which it has since appeared that he had; and was it possible for me to imagine that he intended to retain his place in that same Cabinet, and merely to withdraw himself from the country, while the work of accusation, prosecution, and punishment was carried on by his colleagues?

This man has been one of the most unfeeling of the persecutors of the friends of reform. His exertions against us have been constant; his recommendation of measures has been such as to mark him as the possessor of unrelenting cruelty; in his language he has been uniformly calumnious and insolent. And, upon the very first appearance of danger to himself from the measures which he has been pursuing, he, though he retains his place as a minister, takes his carcase from beyond the confines of the kingdom.

This affair relative to the Queen has, for the moment, swallowed up every other danger. But, this affair wholly out

of the question, the dangers, the dangers inseparable from the system itself, have gone on increasing. They keep steadily on their pace; and as far as I myself am concerned, I should be sorry to see them interrupted by any thing of this nature. Let the system go on. Let it come to its natural termination; and then every one will receive the reward due to his conduct. To all the petitions presented by farmers, by merchants, by manufacturers, by traders of every sort, what answer has been given? What redress has been afforded? What relief has any one obtained or does he hope to obtain: what has been the answer of this unreformed parliament to all these petitions? Why, that it can neither give relief nor hold out a hope of relief; that the sufferers, like the spiders must spin their means of relief from their own bowels, or that they must go unrelieved. All the promises of improved finances have been broken; every expectation has been disappointed; and amongst the most sanguine of the supporters of the system, you find indeed those who calculate upon *months* of duration; but none

who are bold enough to calculate upon *years*.

While this is the case at home, the grand harvest of all our sacrifices is under the process of destruction from the winds and waves of revolution on the Continent. In answer to all our complaints of the weight of taxes, we have been constantly told of the lasting security for the future, which what is called the constitution has obtained by those wars to carry on which was contracted that debt to defray the interest of which the taxes are required. When the wars had ended in a peace which produced the holy alliance, and also produced the restoration of the Pope, the Inquisition, the Bourbons and the Jesuits, how you laughed in our faces! What a malicious grin you gave us! How you triumphed over us! How you hoisted the picture representing the dance of Kings! How you hugged your chains! Like the officers of the Inquisition of Spain and Portugal, how you poked the burning torch in our faces! Well; how stands the matter now? Two countries are already revolutionized; and I heartily wish that you may continue in your delusion till re-

presentative government has spread itself from the Baltic to the Mediterranean.

Every man in his senses must see that there can be no stop for any length of time, until all mankind have their rights.— Here we have wanted nothing that the laws of our forefathers did not give us; and you have tacitly or actively persecuted us for endeavouring to obtain that which was not less necessary to you than to ourselves. The present system is your own work. The man is a fool that again exposes himself to any risk with a view of delivering you from it. Whether you will ever make exertions of your own is more than I can say; but I shall always think that suffer what you will, you are entitled to none of my compassion. By suffering only are you to be taught your duty; and no man can say that he does not wish that that duty should be performed.

The system is going on full tide scattering all its natural consequences about it. Let it proceed, and let those who have prepared the materials of which it is composed keep clear of those consequences if they can. I am not to be understood as including in the objects of my

address every merchant, master manufacturer, big trader, or big farmer: I speak *generally*; and I say to the mass; this is all the work of your own hands: this has all arisen from your own selfish apathy; or from your active hostility against those who are labouring to obtain a restoration of the liberties of the people, and on that basis to establish the security of all ranks, and particularly of the Throne. Whatever we see in the present state of things to lament;—whatever there may be in the prospect of the future to excite your claims; whatever there may be to fill you with doubts, uncertainties, and inquietude—all is to be ascribed to a want of that reform, for endeavouring to obtain which we have been persecuted.

You have rejoiced; you have exulted; you have chuckled and grinned, when you have seen your countrymen dragged off to jails for most laudably exerting their talents through the means of the press. As a disguise for your baseness and cruelty: as it were to drown the clinking of your own chains, you have affected to believe that these sufferers, these martyrs in the cause of truth, jus-

tice and freedom, have been wicked, seditious, blasphemous agitators, who had views of advantage to themselves and of injury to you. What advantage could they derive from their labours? Had they been actuated by selfish motives, they might easily have pocketed your taxes as the price of their silence or as the price of their endeavours to keep you everlastingly entranced. These victims ought to be the object of every benevolent feeling on your part; of your love, veneration and gratitude; but instead of this they have been objects of your affected contempt in some instances, and in every instance of your calumny. Such men need not care for you: need care nothing with regard to what becomes of you. Never were such men objects of your generosity; never were they upheld or encouraged by you; and let what will happen to you, never ought you to be objects of their compassion. You have curled yourselves up at the very best, in selfish imaginary security. While the scourge has been unsparingly laid upon the zealous lovers of their country you have in the best instances of your conduct drawn

yourselves into your shell, and have not uttered even a word of comfort to the sufferers; and, therefore, when the season of your suffering shall arrive, I trust that no man, who has been a victim of the system, will be so unjust as to bestow a thought of commiseration on you.

Again, I say the system is your own, and that to you and the rest of its supporters its ultimate consequences may be confined; and that those consequences may be unmitigated by any of the victims, is the sincere and fervent prayer of

WM. COBBETT.

A

PEEP AT THE PEERS

Is in the press. It will be published at *nine o'clock* on Monday morning.—The work is much more extensive than was imagined.—The result is *enormous*.—It will be in the *pamphlet form*, and not on an open sheet, as was intended.—The price will be *Two-pence*.—The Compilers flatter themselves that they have performed a work of universal interest and utility.—They have dedicated it to the Queen; and they hope that it will be graciously received by her Majesty.

LETTER FROM THE QUEEN TO THE KING.

SIR,—After the unparalleled and unprovoked persecution which, during a series of years, has been carried on against me under the name and authority of your Majesty, and which persecution, instead of being mollified by time, time has rendered only more and more malignant and unrelenting, it is not without a great sacrifice of private feeling that I now, even in the way of remonstrance, bring myself to address this letter to your Majesty. But, bearing in mind that Royalty rests on the basis of public good; that to this paramount consideration all others ought to submit; and aware of the consequences that may result from the present unconstitutional, illegal, and hitherto unheard-of proceedings;—with a mind thus impressed, I cannot refrain from laying my grievous wrongs once more before your Majesty, in the hope that the justice which your Majesty may, by evil-minded counsellors, be still disposed to refuse to the claims of a dutiful, faithful, and injured wife, you may be induced to yield to considerations connected with the honour and dignity of your crown, the stability of your throne, the tranquillity of your dominions, the happiness and safety of your just and loyal people, whose generous hearts revolt at oppression and cruelty, and especially when perpetrated by a perversion and a mockery of the laws.

A sense of what is due to my character and sex forbids me to refer minutely to the real causes of our domestic separation, or to the numerous unmerited insults offered me previously to that period; but, leaving to your Majesty to reconcile with the marriage vow the act of driving, by such means, a wife from beneath your roof, with an infant in her arms, your Majesty will permit me to remind you, that that act was entirely your own; that the separation, so far from being sought for by me, was a sentence pronounced upon me, without any cause assigned, other than that of your own inclinations, which, as your Majesty was pleased to allege, were not under your control.

Not to have felt, with regard to myself, chagrin at this decision of your Majesty, would have argued great insensibility to the obligations of decorum; not to have dropped a tear in the face of that beloved child, whose future sorrows were then but too easy to foresee, would have marked me as unworthy of the name of mother; but, not to have submitted to it without repining would have indicated a consciousness of demerit, or a want of those feelings which belong to affronted and insulted female honour.

The “tranquil and comfortable society” tendered to me by your Majesty formed, in my mind, but a poor compensation for the grief occasioned by considering the wound given to public morals in the fatal example produced by the indulgence of your Majesty’s inclinations;

more especially when I contemplated the disappointment of the nation, who had so munificently provided for our union, who had fondly cherished such pleasing hopes of happiness arising from that union, and who had hailed it with such affectionate and rapturous joy.

But, alas! even tranquillity and comfort were too much for me to enjoy. From the very threshold of your Majesty's mansion the mother of your child was pursued by spies, conspirators, and traitors, employed, encouraged, and rewarded to lay snares for the feet, and to plot against the reputation and life, of her whom your Majesty had so recently and so solemnly vowed to honour, to love, and to cherish.

In withdrawing from the embraces of my parents, in giving my hand to the son of George the Third and the heir-apparent to the British throne, nothing less than a voice from Heaven would have made me fear injustice or wrong of any kind.—What, then, was my astonishment at finding that treasons against me had been carried on and matured, perjuries against me had been methodized and embodied, a secret tribunal had been held, a trial of my actions had taken place, and a decision had been made upon those actions, without my having been informed of the nature of the charge, or of the names of the witnesses? And what words can express the feelings excited by the fact, that this proceeding was founded on a request made, and on evidence furnished, by

order of the father of my child, and my natural as well as legal guardian and protector?

Notwithstanding, however, the unprecedented conduct of that tribunal; conduct which has since undergone, even in Parliament, severe and unanswered animadversions, and which has been also censured in the minutes of the Privy Council; notwithstanding the secrecy of the proceedings of this tribunal; notwithstanding the strong temptation to the giving of false evidence against me before it; notwithstanding that there was no opportunity afforded me of rebutting that evidence; notwithstanding all these circumstances, so decidedly favourable to my enemies, even this secret tribunal acquitted me of all crime, and thereby pronounced my principal accusers to have been guilty of the grossest perjury. But it was now (after the trial was over) discovered, that the nature of the tribunal was such as to render false swearing before it *not legally criminal*! And thus, at the suggestion and request of your Majesty, had been created, to take cognizance of and try my conduct, a tribunal competent to administer oaths, competent to examine witnesses on oath, competent to try, competent to acquit or condemn, and competent, moreover, to screen those who had sworn falsely against me from suffering the pains and penalties which the law awards to wilful and corrupt perjury. Great as my indignation naturally must have been at this shameful evasion of law and justice, that indignation was lost in pity for him

who could lower his princely plumes to the dust by giving his countenance and favour to the most conspicuous of those abandoned and notorious perjurers.

Still there was one whose upright mind nothing could warp, in whose breast injustice never found a place, whose hand was always ready to raise the unfortunate, and to rescue the oppressed. While that good and gracious father and Sovereign remained in the exercise of his royal functions, his unoffending daughter-in-law had nothing to fear. As long as the protecting hand of your late ever-beloved and ever-lamented father was held over me, I was safe. But the melancholy event which deprived the nation of the active exertions of its virtuous King, bereft me of friend and protector, and of all hope of future tranquillity and safety. To calumniate your innocent wife was now the shortest road to royal favour; and to betray her was to lay the sure foundation of boundless riches and titles of honour. Before claims like these, talent, virtue, long services, your own personal friendships, your royal engagements, promises, and pledges, written as well as verbal, melted into air. Your cabinet was founded on this basis. You took to your councils men, of whose persons, as well as whose principles, you had invariably expressed the strongest dislike. The interest of the nation, and even your own feelings, in all other respects, were sacrificed to the gratification of your desire to aggravate my sufferings,

and to ensure my humiliation. You took to your councils and your bosom men whom you hated, whose abandonment of, and whose readiness to sacrifice me were their only merits, and whose power has been exercised in a manner, and has been attended with consequences, worthy of its origin. From this unprincipled and unnatural union have sprung the manifold evils which this nation has now to endure, and which present a mass of misery and of degradation, accompanied with acts of tyranny and cruelty, rather than have seen which inflicted on his industrious, faithful, and brave people, your royal father would have perished at the head of that people.

When to calumniate, revile, and betray me, became the sure path to honour and riches, it would have been strange indeed if calumniators, revilers, and traitors had not abounded. Your Court became much less a scene of polished manners and refined intercourse than of low intrigue and scurrility. Spies, Bacchanalian tale-bearers, and foul conspirators, swarmed in those palaces which had before been the resort of sobriety, virtue, and honour. To enumerate all the various privations and mortifications which I had to endure, all the insults that were wantonly heaped upon me, from the day of your elevation to the Regency to that of my departure for the Continent, would be to describe every species of personal offence that can be offered to, and every pain short of bodily violence that can be in-

flicted on, any human being. Bereft of parent, brother, and father-in-law, and having my husband for my deadliest foe; seeing those who have promised me support bought by rewards to be amongst my enemies; restrained from accusing my foes in the face of the world, out of regard for the character of the father of my child, and from a desire to prevent her happiness from being disturbed; shunned from motives of selfishness by those who were my natural associates; living in obscurity, while I ought to have been the centre of all that was splendid; thus humbled, I had one consolation left; the love of my dear and only child. To permit me to enjoy this was too great an indulgence. To see my daughter; to fold her in my arms; to mingle my tears with hers; to receive her cheering caresses, and to hear from her lips assurances of never-ceasing love; thus to be comforted, consoled, upheld, and blessed, was too much to be allowed me. Even on the slave mart the cries of "Oh! my mother, my mother! Oh! my child, my child!" have prevented a separation of the victims of avarice. But your advisers, more inhuman than the slave-dealer, remorselessly tore the mother from the child.

Thus bereft of the society of my child, or reduced to the necessity of imbittering her life by struggles to preserve that society, I resolved on temporary absence, in the hope that time might restore me to her in happier days. Those days, alas! were never to come. To mo-

thers, and those mothers who have been suddenly bereft of the best and most affectionate and only daughters, it belongs to estimate my sufferings and my wrongs. Such mothers will judge of my affliction upon hearing of the death of my child, and upon my calling to recollection the last look, the last words, and all the affecting circumstances of our separation. Such mothers will see the depth of my sorrows. Every being with a heart of humanity in its bosom will drop a tear of sympathy with me. And will not the world, then, learn with indignation, that this event, calculated to soften the hardest heart, was the signal for new conspiracies, and indefatigable efforts for the destruction of this afflicted mother? Your Majesty had torn my child from me; you had deprived me of the power of being at hand to succour her; you had taken from me the possibility of hearing of her last prayers for her mother; you saw me bereft, forlorn, and broken-hearted; and this was the moment you chose for redoubling your persecutions.

Let the world pass its judgment on the constituting of a commission, in a foreign country, consisting of inquisitors, spies, and informers, to discover, collect, and arrange matters of accusation against your wife, without any complaint having been communicated to her: let the world judge of the employment of ambassadors in such a business, and of the enlisting of foreign courts in the enterprise: but on the measures which have

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been adopted to give final effect to these preliminary proceedings it is for me to speak; it is for me to remonstrate with your Majesty; it is for me to protest; it is for me to apprise you of my determination.

I have always demanded a *fair trial*. This is what I now demand, and this is refused me. Instead of a fair trial, I am to be subjected to a sentence by the Parliament, passed in the shape of a *law*. Against this I protest, and upon the following grounds:—

The injustice of refusing me a clear and distinct charge, of refusing me the names of the witnesses, of refusing me the names of the places where the illegal acts have been committed; these are sufficiently flagrant and revolting; but it is against the *constitution of the Court itself* that I particularly object, and against that I most solemnly protest.

Whatever may be the precedents as to Bills of Pains and Penalties, none of them, except those relating to the Queen of Henry the Eighth, can apply here; for here your Majesty is the *plaintiff*. Here it is intended by the Bill to do what you deem good to you, and to do me great harm. You are, therefore, a party, and the only complaining party.

You have made your complaint to the House of Lords. You have conveyed to this House written documents sealed up. A secret committee of the House have examined these documents. They have reported that there are grounds of proceeding; and then the House,

merely upon that report, have brought forward a Bill containing the most outrageous slanders on me, and sentencing me to divorce and degradation.

The injustice of putting forth this Bill to the world for six weeks before it is even proposed to afford me an opportunity of contradicting its allegations is too manifest not to have shocked the nation; and, indeed, the proceedings even thus far are such as to convince every one that no justice is intended me. But if none of these proceedings, if none of these clear indications of a determination to do me wrong had taken place, I should see, in the constitution of the House of Lords itself, a certainty that I could expect no justice at its hands.

Your Majesty's ministers have advised this prosecution; they are responsible for the advice they give; they are liable to punishment if they fail to make good their charges; and not only are they part of my judges, but it is they who have brought in the Bill; and it is too notorious that they have always a majority in the House; so that, without any other, here is ample proof that the House will decide in favour of the Bill, and, of course, against me.

But, further, there are reasons for your ministers having a majority in this case, and which reasons do not apply to common cases. Your Majesty is the *plaintiff*: to you it belongs to appoint and to elevate Peers. Many of the present Peers have been raised to that dignity by yourself, and almost the whole

can be, at your will and pleasure, further elevated. The far greater number of the Peers hold, by themselves and their families, offices, pensions, and other emoluments, solely at the will and pleasure of your Majesty, and these, of course, your Majesty can take away whenever you please. There are more than *four-fifths* of the Peers in this situation, and there are many of them who might thus be deprived of the far better part of their incomes.

If, contrary to all expectation, there should be found, in some peers, likely to amount to a majority, a disposition to reject the Bill, some of these peers may be ordered away to their ships, regiments, governments, and other duties; and, which is an equally alarming power, new peers may be created for the purpose, and give their vote in the decision. That your Majesty's ministers would advise these measures, if found necessary to render their prosecution successful, there can be very little doubt; seeing that they have hitherto stopped at nothing, however unjust or odious.

To regard such a body as a *Court of Justice* would be to calumniate that sacred name; and for me to suppress an expression of my opinion on the subject would be tacitly to lend myself to my own destruction, as well as to an imposition upon the nation and the world.

In the House of Commons I can discover no better grounds of security. The power of your Majesty's Ministers is the same in both Houses; and your Ma-

jesty is well acquainted with the fact, that a majority of this House is composed of persons placed in it by the Peers and by your Majesty's Treasury.

It really gives me pain to state these things to your Majesty; and, if it gives your Majesty pain, I beg that it may be observed, and remembered, that the statement has been forced from me. I must either protest against this mode of trial, or, by tacitly consenting to it, suffer my honour to be sacrificed. No innocence can secure the accused if the Judges and Jurors be chosen by the accuser; and if I were tacitly to submit to a tribunal of this description, I should be instrumental in my own dishonour.

On these grounds I protest against this species of trial. I demand a trial in a Court where the Jurors are taken impartially from amongst the people, and where the proceedings are open and fair. Such a trial I court, and to no other will I willingly submit. If your Majesty persevere in the present proceeding, I shall, even in the Houses of Parliament, face my accusers; but I shall regard any decision they may make against me as not in the smallest degree reflecting on my honour; and I will not, except compelled by actual force, submit to any sentence which shall not be pronounced by a *Court of Justice*.

I have now frankly laid before your Majesty a statement of my wrongs, and a declaration of my views and intentions. You have cast upon me every slur to which the female character is

liable. Instead of loving, honouring, and cherishing me, agreeably to your solemn vow, you have pursued me with hatred and scorn, and with all the means of destruction. You wrested from me my child, and with her my only comfort and consolation. You sent me sorrowing through the world, and even in my sorrows pursued me with unrelenting persecution. Having left me nothing but my innocence, you would now, by a mockery of justice, deprive me even of the reputation of possessing that. The poisoned bowl and the poniard are means more manly than perjured witnesses and partial tribunals; and they are less cruel, inasmuch as life is less valuable than honour. If my life would have satisfied your Majesty, you should have had it on the sole condition of giving me a place in the same tomb with my child: but, since you would send me dishonoured to the grave, I will resist the attempt with all the means that it shall please God to give me.

(Signed) CAROLINE, R.

Brandenburgh-house, Aug. 7, 1820.

(From the Times.)

SIR.—In your paper of Tuesday last you have the following remark upon a passage in her Majesty's Letter to the King:—"When bereft, forlorn, and broken-hearted by the death of her only child, this was the moment, as her Majesty declares, which was chosen for redoubling the persecutions against her." We dare only hope that this is not a fact; for, if it were, there never yet lived a language containing in it words of reprobation strong enough for a treatment so inhuman.—Numerous facts, in the long catalogue of disgraceful operations abroad, might be

cited to prove the correctness of the statement of her Majesty as to this point; but what do we want more than this—that, in the superscription *on the coffin of her child*, which contained the names of the illustrious persons from whom she had descended, the *name of her mother was omitted!* What stab more cruel than this was ever given to a mother's heart? Let the people of England say what her feelings must have been when she, in reading the English papers, saw this proof of the obduracy and malice of her enemies?

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

M. W.

(From the New Times, of Tuesday, August 15.)

It is with the most painful feelings that we have to notice the Letter to which the Queen's name has been affixed, and which was yesterday published, as it were officially, in the Journal devoted to the worst purposes of her Majesty's worst adherents.

Persons of all parties have done us the justice to admit, that whenever we have had occasion to speak of her Majesty's personal conduct, we have most studiously preserved the respect due to her exalted station, and the candour which prohibits all prejudication of her guilt or innocence.

But we cannot remain silent when *other persons* employ her as a tool of treason. We cannot see the torch prepared to set fire to the four corners of the metropolis, and not cry aloud to every man of property, of respectability, of integrity, to take warning. We are compelled for the information of our readers to lay before them the Letter in question. Her Majesty, we doubt not, has been prevailed

on to sanction it by her name, but it would be folly to suppose for a moment that she did or could write it. It neither is her style, nor can it contain her sentiments; for they are the sentiments of a deadly enemy to the House of Brunswick and to the English Constitution. Who the writer is can only be matter of conjecture. The name of Cobbett has been mentioned; and certainly the composition betrays all the malignity of that writer against the established laws and institutions of the kingdom. Perhaps a more classical pen may have here and there polished off the vulgarity of the author of the *Twopenny Register*; but upon the whole, we know no person so likely as he, to have given at least the sketch of this most detestable Letter.

It is addressed ostensibly to the King, but really to the mob. Its true object is to rouse the mob to action; as they have recently been acting at Palermo, and as Thistlewood meant them to have acted in London. Let us never forget the declaration of that traitor—that *he hoped to see the Shops of London shut up, and those Aristocrats, the Shopkeepers, well plundered.* This is the hope of the writer of the letter. This is the effect which his labours are calculated to produce, if the middle class of people persist in blinding themselves to the real nature of the impending danger.

The Queen is either innocent or guilty. If she be innocent, it is utterly impossible that her innocence can have a better protection than that which will be

afforded in it by two successive investigations by the two Houses of the British Parliament. But the writer of the letter makes her act as a guilty person, reviling and defying the Sovereign, and the Legislature, but offering not one syllable of argument to remove the suspicions which notorious circumstances have attached to her conduct. We say, therefore, that the object of the writer cannot have been to justify the Queen in the slightest degree. It must have been to excite the mob of London to resistance against the laws and the Legislature. *The Times* praises the composition, as “calculated to rouse every generous and manly moral feeling.” We say it was calculated to rouse *Sedition*, and nothing else. What! Is it generous and manly to tell the whole Peerage of England that no justice is to be expected at their hands? This is supposed to be said too, by a person who in the same breath complains of “outrageous slanders.” Whether the Queen has or has not been slandered we shall certainly know a little better when the evidence has been examined, than we do now. If she has been so, we fervently hope that her character may be effectually cleared; but at all events, the Letter writer outrageously slanders the most august assembly in the kingdom; and he manifestly does this to bring them into hatred and contempt among the people, to create popular discontent and disaffection; in short to bring about a revolution, and make London a scene of pillage and bloodshed.

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In one passage, a directly *treasonable* menace is held out. The Queen is made to say, with reference to the Bill of Pains and Penalties now legally and *constitutionally* depending in Parliament, "I will not, except compelled by actual force, *submit* to any sentence which shall not be pronounced by a Court of Justice;"—and again, "Since you would send me dishonoured to my grave, I will *resist* the attempt with *all the means* that it shall please God to give me." Coupling these passages together, we do not hesitate to say, that they avow a doctrine clearly *treasonable*. The Queen is a subject, and is as much bound as any other subject to *submit* to the laws which may be passed by the Legislature, and she has as little right as any other subject to *resist* those laws. By the Constitution of England, a Bill of Pains and Penalties is as much within the competency of the Legislature as any other law, and to resist it is as criminal as to resist any other law. The Queen might as well say that she will resist the Bill of Rights, or the Act of Settlement, as that she will resist the Bill of Pains and Penalties, in case it shall be passed. We repeat, that though these seditious and treasonable doctrines are avowed in the Letter bearing her Majesty's name, we do not attribute them to her, for we believe that she cannot even comprehend them; but her signature has in all probability been surreptitiously obtained to this document for purposes totally foreign to her Majesty's wishes. The public,

however, will be on their guard against the prosecution of purposes so diabolical; and since threats of popular tumult are so distinctly held out, we trust that every loyal man will be prepared to cut down the Insurrection the moment it is attempted.

(From the Courier.)

The Queen's Letter, says her partisans, has produced a great effect. It certainly has—but it is one which she and her inflammatory counsellors did not anticipate.

We know not whether the blindness and violence of her advocates were capable of receiving any addition even from this libel; but we are satisfied from the alarm of all the prudent, the disgust of all the virtuous, the indignation of all the loyal, have been excited in a powerful degree by that shameless publication—a publication as shameless as its authors, and as shameless as its object.

It affects to be written by the Queen—it is notoriously not written by her. The cant of *maternal feelings* with which it is filled, are the cool suggestions of a *hired penman*. The *tears* it talks of were never shed, but in the libeller's ink. The *tender feelings* of the *female heart* which it describes, are the florid inventions of a big-wigged rhetorician. In short, it is, although the Queen has written her name at the bottom of it, an *impudent fabrication and fraud*; and it is at once ludicrous and disgusting, to fancy two grave doctors,

who, as Shakspeare says of Cardinal Campeius, "never had a child," laying their wigg'd heads together, to describe the throes of a *mother's* afflictions, and the niceties of *female* delicacy. But let us leave the "woman's tears" of Doctor Parr, and the "feminine sighs" of Doctor Reynolds, and turn to other topics of this letter of much greater importance.

The Queen is made to recur to the *former investigations*—fatal advice! On the part of the public, it had been announced, that her *late* conduct *only* should be examined; in mercy to her, in mercy to public decency, it was resolved to draw a veil over all her former life. But the Doctors now tear off that veil—they insist upon reviving all those discussions;—they drag the guardians of the public interests and honour back into a contest which the latter had, in *pity*, and in *charity*, abandoned.

We know not what the effect of this amazing challenge *may* be—we know not how far forbearance may be pushed; but we know what might, and what, in *strict justice*, since she demands it, ought to be done. Her whole life ought to be re-examined—it ought to be shown that, charged with a thousand offences, she never was acquitted, but of one—that all the imputations, save that one, which have for a series of twenty years risen up in odious succession, were none of them ever disproved—that his late Majesty publicly reprobated her conduct; and that her daughter was re-

moved from her influence to save her morals and character. This is the effect which the zealous Doctors did not foresee.—They think that the friends of the Crown are to be strictly confined to *one point* of time, and *one kind* of charge; while *they* may fly round every point of the compass, and through all portions of time, and may endeavour to *bully* their antagonists, who, as they suppose, cannot step out of the narrow circle of the family of *Bergami*. For ourselves, it is not for us to say whether this defiance ought, with a view to public morals, to be accepted or not. It is enough for us to show that it has been made, and to have given a slight sketch of the consequences which might justly follow it.

One other observation we cannot help making; the letter of the Doctors abuses, in the grossest terms, the Commission which conducted the former investigation—it libels the witnesses on that investigation, and involves the whole proceeding in one sweeping accusation of falsehood and illegality; and yet it is of a *supposed acquittal* by this *very* Commission that the Queen is made to boast so loudly. We beg pardon for attempting to call to Doctor Parr's recollection his forgotten logic; but he, surely, as well as all mankind, must be aware, that if the witnesses were all perjured, and the evidence all garbled, and the tribunal all corrupt and illegal, the acquittal pronounced, under such circumstances, cannot be worth much.

ADDRESS OF THE MARRIED
LADIES.

"MADAM.—Whilst thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow-subjects are approaching your Majesty with assurances of homage and affection—whilst addresses even from the remoter parts of the kingdom are laid at your feet—permit us, your Majesty's neighbours, as wives, and the mistresses of families, in and near the metropolis, to approach you. We are unaccustomed to public acts, and uninfluenced by party feelings; yet we cannot be excluded from offering to your Majesty's notice our sympathy and devotion. Grateful to the Constitution under which it is our happiness to live—saved also by our rank in the middle classes of society, from the dangers attendant on high rank or poverty, and protected by our husbands, we may hardly be supposed judges of all the value of your Majesty's conduct; but, Madam, we admire your magnanimity, and we adore that womanly feeling which has made your Majesty treat with contempt every offer, the tendency of which was to compromise your honour, and we thank you for it in the name of our sex.

"Had your Majesty been treated with the respect due to your exalted rank, our hearts would have throbbed with ardent interest in your cause, and with love to your person; and, leaving to our husbands and sons all public expression of feeling, we should have confined ours to our domestic circles;

but now, Madam, the indignation we feel for the cruel treatment of your Majesty bursts every barrier between us, and we hasten to express at your feet the warm, the almost overwhelming interest with which we are inspired: and be assured, Madam, our judgments are quite as much enlisted in your Majesty's service as our feelings: for, added to the dreadful charges against you, are not new crimes found out by your enemies? and new modes of judging them, unknown alike to common law and common sense? Under these circumstances, scarcely less than a miracle, we think, can procure your justification, refused as your Majesty has been every means of fairly meeting the accusations against you. We commit your Majesty's cause to the integrity of your own great mind; to the zeal, to the honour, and the ability of your legal advisers, who will have for their reward a nation's gratitude; but, above all, to our all-seeing and merciful God—to that God whom no one can prevent our addressing, and teaching our children to address, in fervent prayers for your protection.

"And now, Madam, in simplicity of style, and sincerity of heart, we beg to subscribe ourselves

"Your Majesty's dutiful, affectionate, and loyal subjects and servants."

Her Majesty was graciously pleased to return the following answer:—

"In this honest and affection-

ate address from my female neighbours, who are wives and mothers of families in and near the metropolis, I gratefully acknowledge the sympathy which they express for my many sorrows, and the indignation which they feel for my unnumbered wrongs. The approbation of my own sex must be ever dear to my heart; and it must be more particularly gratifying when it is the approbation of mothers of families in and near this enlightened metropolis.

"When my honour is attacked, every loyal Englishwoman must feel it as an imputation upon her own. The virtues of sovereigns are not circumscribed in their influence or insulated in their operations. They put in motion a wide circle of the imitative propensity in the subordinate conditions of life. Thus the virtues of the great become the property of the people; and the people are interested in preserving them from slanderous contamination.

"The present procedure against me is like a wilful attempt on the part of blind phrenzy or improvident malice to destroy the moral character of the monarchy. To lessen this moral character in public estimation is not merely to degrade the Queen, but to shatter into atoms that reverential respect which gives strength to the sceptre and dignity to the Sovereign.

"I shall never sacrifice that honour which is the glory of a woman, and the brightest jewel of a Queen, for any earthly consideration. All the possessions

in the world would be purchased too dear if they were obtained at the price of self-condemnation. I can never be debased while I observe the great maxim of respecting myself.

"In this era of ceaseless change, and of violent agitation, when whole nations seem tossed, like individuals, on the ocean of storms, no circumstances, however menacing, shall shake the constancy of my attachment to the English nation, or estrange my affections from the general good of the community. The future is wisely covered with an opaque cloud; but whatever may be my destiny, I will cherish in all vicissitudes, and preserve in all fortunes, that resignation to the Divine will, which, in proportion as it becomes an habitual sentiment of the mind, improves all its virtues, and elevates the general character."

ANSWER TO THE GREENWICH ADDRESS.

"In this cordial, this friendly address, the inhabitants of Greenwich have strongly excited my sympathies, and interested my heart. In the most vivid manner they have recalled to my memory those times over which oblivion will never throw a veil. They have reminded me of those past days when I lived among them, when I visited their houses and traversed their fields; when I partook of their social festivities, and was united in their sacred rites; when I was rendered happy by ministering to the wants of

some, and by adding to the comforts of others; and, above all, when my heart was lifted to God in gratitude because my ears were cheered with the benedictions of the poor. This is that period which the kind hearted inhabitants of Greenwich so powerfully recall to my recollection; nor can I ever be unmindful that it was a period in which I could behold that countenance which I never beheld without vivid delight, and to hear that voice which to my fond ears was like music breathing over violets. Can I forget? No; my soul will never suffer me to forget that, when the cold remains of this beloved object were deposited in the tomb, the malice of my persecutors would not suffer even the name of the mother to be inscribed upon the coffin of her child. Of all the indignities which I have experienced, this is one which, minute as it may seem, has affected me as much as all the rest. But if it were minute, it was not to my agonising sensibility. It was a dagger directed by unrelenting hate, not to the surface, but to the very centre of a mother's heart. If little circumstances mark character, that which I have mentioned will not fail to fix a note of indelible infamy upon that ferocious persecution which has troubled my peace and embittered my days."

ANSWER TO THE BOROUGH OF
AYLESBURY.

"The inhabitants of the borough of Aylesbury have my

cordial thanks for this impressive testimony of their affectionate regard. Whatever may have been the afflictions which I have been visited by Providence, I know my duty to Heaven too well to murmur at any of its dispensations. The sorrows that are scattered over the surface of human life are usually transient, though often recurring. They come and go—they depart and return, like the wind and the rain; but my sorrows have not been of this kind. They have not merely flitted over my nerves in the shades of the evening, to disappear when the East reddened with the dawn: they have been a long, a dark, an almost interminable night, which malice, like that of a fiend, has thrown over my soul for a quarter of a century. But the people of England think that I have been sufficiently tortured by malignity, and saddened by woe. Their vivid sympathies and their glowing affections begin to dissipate the thick darkness that covered my prospects, and to announce the day-spring of a life more serene, when my wrongs shall be redressed, and my persecutions come to an end.

"Those persons who could instigate or advise that the name of the Queen should, contrary to all usage, be omitted in our national prayers, must have had their hearts far from God. Such an omission is at variance with that charity, without which, all our adoration is mere mummery, and all our Hosannas only empty air.

"The injustice of my enemies has been so great, and indeed

so monstrous, that the account of it will hereafter be numbered among the prodigies in the moral history of man. It is the extremity of barbarism in an age of high civilization. Because I have violated no law, a Bill of Pains and Penalties has been introduced into the House of Lords to destroy me without law. But the people of England have not minds of inert clay, or hearts of impenetrable stone. They know, they see, they feel my unparalleled wrongs. Every man, every woman, nay, every child, is alive to the sympathy they have inspired. Oppression always sanctifies its object. In this order of things the Almighty has written his decree against cruelty and injustice."

ANSWER TO THE TOWN OF
WYCOMBE.

"The worthy Mayor, Bailiffs, Burgesses, and other inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of High Wycombe have a claim upon my gratitude, for this honest demonstration of their affectionate regard. I read with a melancholy interest their unaffected expressions of condolence for the sad chasm which the death of so many dear relatives has made in my domestic affinities. With respect to some of these numerous losses, Time has drawn his mitigating touch over the lacerated surface of my agonised breast; yet others have left a painful impression upon my memory which cannot be effaced while memory remains. But I bend with reverence, and I submit with equanimity to the wise decisions of that Highest

Power, whose moral government cannot be wanting in benevolent design, even where that design is inscrutable to the human understanding.

"After a long absence from these realms, my return has seemed to my own feelings almost like the renovation of the Spring. Wherever I have been, whether in cities, towns, or villages, I have heard the transporting sounds of popular joy; and in every countenance which I happen to pass, I can trace a vivid expression of complacency, and perceive an exhilarating smile. This is that sweet satisfaction which I would not exchange for any other grosser pleasure which life has to bestow.

"The love of mankind is the noblest ambition of sovereigns. The consciousness of it is a perpetual feast. It is security in the day, and repose during the night. It inspires a delight which never cloy, and it will be a ray of comfort in that parting hour, when the messenger of THE ETERNAL reads a lesson of wisdom to the thoughtless, and teaches even Kings that they are but men!"

ANSWER TO THE MIDDLESEX
ADDRESS.

"In my long absence from England I had never forgotten that justice and humanity had no warmer advocates, nor more steady friends, than the Freeholders of Middlesex. Their present animated and affectionate Address has impressed that conviction more strongly upon my mind; and my heart rejoices at receiving such a tribute of re-

gard from men so enlightened, philanthropists so generous, and patriots so pure.

"The improved spirit of the age, which is seen in the intellectual advancement of man through all the gradations of the social scheme, is particularly visible in this metropolitan county. Here the dissemination of knowledge is found to have the most salutary effects. Here moral worth is most resplendent. Here beneficence most abounds. Here those sentiments and affections are most operative, that exclude intolerance from the mind, and give the most comprehensive charity to the heart. Here liberty finds its most impenetrable shield; and tyranny has to contend with its most determined foe.

"My frank and unreserved disposition may, at times, have laid my conduct open to the misrepresentations of my adversaries. Conscious that my motives are pure, and my heart upright, I have never sought any refuge even from the infuriated eye of malignity, in the coverts of duplicity, or in the obscurities of fraud. I am what I seem, and I seem what I am. And, though calumny, aided by perjury, is now making its last desperate attack upon my character, yet I feel no fear except it be the fear that my character should not be sufficiently investigated. I challenge every inquiry. I deprecate not the most vigilant scrutiny.

"My life has been a life of trial. But what trial is there which I have yet undergone that has not elevated my cha-

raacter, and humbled that of my enemies? During a period of twenty-five years I have been exposed to the most persecuting inquisition. In private life virtue is thought to bloom like the primrose in the shade; but I have been placed in circumstances where temptation operates with double force, and where vice assumes the most fascinating lures; and yet what credible proof has yet been produced that I have once erred from the path of innocence.

"The Freeholders of Middlesex could not make use of expressions more gratifying to my pride, or more sacred to my soul, than by telling me that I occupy in the affections of the people that place which the Princess Charlotte so eminently possessed. It inspires me with a sort of hallowed ecstasy when I perceive how much and how tenderly this generous nation still cherishes her venerated memory.

"The voice of the people, which has been so generally expressed in favour of my integrity, has cheered me in the most trying circumstances; and if I were to reach the fatal moment of my expiration on the morrow, it would still murmur pleasure in my ears.

"When the Freeholders of Middlesex congratulate me upon having such fair associates as Truth and Justice in my train, I must implore the Author of all good, that as they have been my solace in time past, they may remain my inseparable companions through life, and not forsake me in the tomb."

ADDRESS FROM ST. LEONARD'S,
SHOREDITCH.

" TO HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY
CAROLINE ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF
ENGLAND.

" The dutiful and loyal Address of the Householders and Inhabitants of the Parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch:—

" We, your Majesty's loyal subjects, the Householders and Inhabitants of the Parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, beg leave to approach your Majesty with our sincere and affectionate congratulations on your accession to the dignity of Queen of these realms, and to assure you of our zealous attachment to your interests, and of our profound respect for your exalted character.

" It cannot but occur to your Majesty that the peculiar and anxious situation in which your Majesty is placed leads us to approach your Royal presence with the expression of our joy at your arrival, our sympathy in your afflictions, and our confidence in your ultimate triumph over your enemies, in the triumph of justice and of truth, over vice, indignity, venality, and falsehood.

" Sensible of the lustre which virtue gives, and which virtue only can give to Royalty, strongly impressed with the importance of the example set by those who are called on to fill high stations in society to the preservation of the religious and moral character of the nation, we hail your Majesty's return with joy, convinced that your illustrious and dignified exam-

ple of faithfulness to your marriage vow, under circumstances the most trying to the female heart, will strengthen the influence of that honourable institution, check the demoralizing influence of an opposite example, and the consequent circulation of corrupt manners, and bring the dispositions that are lovely in private life into the service of the Commonwealth.

" Our sympathy has, in common with the great mass of our fellow subjects, been powerfully and painfully excited in your favour by the unjust and cruel persecution to which you are again subjected; and our minds have thus been naturally led to dwell on your sufferings; and while we admire your humble resignation to the severest afflictions of the Divine Will, we rejoice to see the lofty energies of your character as displayed in the high-minded resistance you have opposed to the rancorous fatuity of your enemies.

" We cannot view the unconstitutional mode of attack adopted against your Majesty without feeling grieved that under circumstances calculated to excite the best feelings of humanity in your favour, and to give a generous impulse to the manly feelings of your natural Protector, you should be subjected to a mode of prosecution almost bidding defiance to vindication from the vagueness of the imputations, which, while it enlists your accusers in the number of your judges, refuses you the means of refutation, and founds your trial upon the warrant for your degradation.

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"We have hitherto conceived, and we still presume to think, that the preparation to sentences should follow, and not precede, the trial of the accused. In the instance to which we refer, this principle is inverted, and we see that the act for your degradation is the foundation of your trial; that that proceeding, which necessarily pre-supposes guilt, is the first step towards inquiry into its existence.

"We have heard of the omnipotence of Parliament, but we presume to doubt its power to invert the principles of justice, and to convince society in the present age of the propriety of its proceedings.

"Be assured, Madam, that while your enemies thus seek to bind their victim, that they may secure its sacrifice, they betray their consciousness of their own weakness, and of your strength, that in your absence the people of England have learnt from sad experience how to estimate the reports of Secret Committees, how to appreciate the contents of sealed bags, and are convinced that every one that doeth evil, hateth the light, but that 'he that doeth truth, cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest.'

"While addressing you in your constitutional character of Queen of England, we may be allowed to add, that when we contrast the present proceeding against the first subject of the realm, with the refusal of all inquiry into a recent outrage against the poorer subjects of

this kingdom; when we see that neither the magnanimous and dignified boldness of your behaviour, the conviction, in the expression of which your enemies have unblushingly joined, that their proceedings are injurious to the best interests of the empire, can check an anomalous and unprincipled mode of inquiry in the one case—nor the supplications of injured poverty procure it, by the ordinary and constitutional modes, in the other—it induces the melancholy conviction, that the love of justice, and the good of this country, are not the objects which influence those whose proceedings we are now canvassing. We seek not, Illustrious Lady, to obtain from you, in your present situation, the expression of any sentiment foreign to the subject which leads us to address you. It is, however, but natural in us to contrast the inconsistencies of your persecutors, when expressing our sympathy in your sufferings—our regard for your interests—our affection for our Queen.

"The people of England have been accused of rallying round your Majesty, and prejudging the circumstances of your situation. We have been taught, Madam, until now, that to rally round Majesty was the first duty of subjects, and an evidence of loyalty; that it was a first principle of justice, and one on which the administration of English jurisprudence was founded, to preserve the innocence of the accused until guilt is proved.—We admire the principle; we act upon it in approaching your

presence; and beyond our justification on this principle, we are justified, in the present instance, by the knowledge that you have before vindicated yourself from similar aspersions, and that the nation, under the guidance of our late venerable Monarch, your father-in-law, then pronounced them to be founded in falsehood and supported by perjury.

"It is the property of truth to confound its adversaries, and in the vacillations of your enemies we see this exemplified—they are evidently unable to appreciate high principles—feeling that, among the grovelling spirits arrayed against you, every man had his price, they conceived that 50,000*l.* per annum would purchase submission to any principle, however base, to any imputation, however gross. We admire the noble determination which led you to answer this offer in the British capital, and to reject the misdirected address of another assembly—it shows to us you estimate the people of England as superior to so wicked, so base a compromise.

"Be assured, noble Lady, that the strongest and the best sympathies of our nature are excited in your favour, and enlisted in your cause—that though forbidden to asperate your name in the public forms of religion, we need not the fiat of earthly majesty to authorise our appeal to the common Parent of man, that you have our prayers the more fervently, because they are opposed by your enemies; and that it is the earnest wish

of our hearts, that you may expose their machinations, and triumph over their malice, and that we may see you restored to all your constitutional rights, and crowned Queen of these realms.

"W. JENNINGS, } Churchwardens."
"RT. PEARCE, }

ANSWER.

"The householders and inhabitants of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, are requested to accept my unfeigned thanks for this affectionate address. The long series of persecutions by which I have been assailed, though they have been successfully defeated, have been as constantly renewed. The present atrocious attack upon my moral character and upon my royal dignity, is designed by my enemies to produce that catastrophe which is to terminate this drama of iniquity. But the good people of England are not willing to see a new reign open with a tragedy.

"The inhabitants of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, will remark, that the charges against me are of the most vague and indefinite kind. They have no palpable form, no distinct individual character. Such vague generalities of accusation are the common refuge of slander, when it asperses without evidence, and condemns without proof. In the present instance, the charge against me is so indeterminate, that it is more like an inquisition into the conduct of a whole life, than into the truth of any particular allegation.

"In their Bill of Pains and Penalties my adversaries first condemn me without proof—and then, with a sort of novel refinement in legislative science, proceed to inquire whether there is any proof to justify the condemnation. They first pre-judge my case, and then attempt to colour the injustice by a sort of judicial parade, which this age will never approve, and which posterity will abhor. Justice has been denominated even-handed; but what should we think of that emblematical figure of judicial purity, in one of whose hands the accuser had put not only a green bag of perjury, but a yellow bag of gold."

TO THE MECHANICS AND ARTISANS.

"I am much gratified and unfeignedly obliged by this warm and affectionate address from the Industrious Classes in and about the great metropolis of these realms. It affords me unspeakable satisfaction to find that this mighty city contains myriads of such persons, among whom there is a large stock of virtue and of intelligence, who condole with my sorrows, and who kindle with indignation at my wrongs. The Industrious Classes have shewn that they still retain that independence of mind which is inflexible to external circumstances, and which was once the proud boast and characteristic property of every Englishman. Though the gangrene of corruption has en-

gendered a debasing venality and a fawning obsequiousness, in detached portions of the community, yet Britain still retains a large portion of that heart of oak which for so many ages has made its name glorious and its annals bright.

"The Industrious Classes of the nation constitute the vital energy of the state. In the great fabric of society they are the strength at the bottom which supports the ornament at the top.

"The productive powers of the country are its real powers. For out of what other source is consumption supplied? What else is it that multiplies gratification of all kinds? To what else is affluence indebted for its splendour, or beauty for its decorations? Where rank is measured by usefulness, no reflecting mind will say that the Industrious Classes occupy the lowest step in the ascent of honourable ambition or estimable fame.

"There have been times, and perhaps those times may still be, when the hard-earned bread of the long-toiling peasant or mechanic is insufficient for his numerous family, when the penury of the day has been succeeded by the inquietude of the night, and when night and day, and day and night, have been only a sad succession of pining wretchedness and hopeless woe. That order of things, which, in a large portion of the community, necessitates the acquisition of subsistence by the sweat of the brow, is the institution of Providence for the benefit of

man; but who does not see that it is not owing to the wisdom of the Deity, but to the hard-heartedness of the oppressor, when the sweat of the brow during the day is followed by the tear of affliction at its close, when the labour of the hand only adds to the aching of the heart, and what ought to be a source of joy is an aggravation of calamity? But if these things have been, I may perhaps be permitted to hope that they will be ere long only as the troubled scenery of a dream, and that happier times are approaching, when commerce will crowd our rivers, trade be busy in our streets, and industry smiling in our fields."

TO THE INHABITANTS OF
HAMMERSMITH.

"I am sensibly impressed and deeply obliged by this affectionate address from the Inhabitants of Hammersmith, amongst whom I have my present temporary residence. I have always rejoiced in the felicitations of neighbours and in the charities of neighbourhood.

"The day on which the remains of the Princess Charlotte were committed to the silent

tomb was a day of deep sorrow to the nation. But if the nation wept, it was not merely because youth and beauty had withered, and wit and elegance had vanished in the grave. These were common occurrences; but it is not a common occurrence to see every virtue in a successor to the throne; and, in the mirror of those virtues, to behold the nation emerging from wretchedness, servitude, and disgrace, to freedom, to glory, and to happiness.

"All Europe has its eyes fixed on the present procedure in the House of Lords. I shall have to appear at the bar of that House; but that House itself will have to appear at the bar of public opinion throughout the world; I shall have to defend myself against their accusations; but they will have to defend themselves against the reproaches of individual conscience, as well as the impartial condemnation of the age which now is and of that which is to come. To have been one of the Peers who, after accusing and condemning, affected to sit in judgment on Queen Caroline, will be a sure passport to the splendid notoriety of everlasting shame."